1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

614 or an older man of one's mother's clan might be regarded as mother's brother.

The kinship groups within the clan are the sub-clan,* the local lineage, and the extended family, all of which are patrilineal. Each of the many sub-clans within a clan bears a distinctive name, and marriage within the sub-clan is even more severely punished than marriage within the clan. While smaller than the clan it also has thousands of members and is perforce a fictitious kinship group, though on occasion many members within a range of several hundred square miles will assemble for a sub-clan ceremony. The local lineage is a group of patrilineal male kinsmen living within a few miles of one another, periodically worshiping as a unit, and gathering together on such occasions as marriages and funerals. It is the largest corporate group within the kinship system. The patrilineal, patrilocal extended family is a distinctive economic and ritual social unit which often occupies a single house-site, though common residence and economic unity seldom are maintained after the death of the father of the family or the marriage of all of his sons. The nuclear families which together compose the extended family are, as elsewhere, distinguishable units and provide the lines of fracture by which the extended family divides itself.

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[192] * In the literature the sub-clans are referred to as *khūt*, but I found that throughout the territory of the southern Santal there is no such term; in fact, there is no word which designates "sub-clan." To find out which sub-clan a Santal belongs to, it is necessary first to determine his clan and then to place the interrogative "what" (*cili*) before the name of his clan, e.g., *cili Hansdak*! Casual inquiry among the northern Santal indicates that the same condition prevails there. It is possible that the word *khūt* is a mistranscription of *khond*, which refers to the ceremonial circles which Santal draw and indirectly to the local lineage; in this usage one refers to those who worship "at a single circle" (*mit khondren*). But it is not possible to ask a Santal, "What *khond* do you belong to?".

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

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184 variation and specialization do exist even though there are few sharp boundary lines. There is one regular social event
224 which reflects and intensifies regional cultural and social inter-
628 connection; this event is an annual hunt followed by a large all-male gathering outside some village where performances largely humorous and/or "obscene" (in their eyes as well as mine) take place. The participants consist of teams generally from several villages within a vicinity, and they compete with other similarly constituted teams for the favor of the assembled
[273] throng. Like many such gatherings, it terminates with rice beer.

In most of the territory occupied by the southern Santal, game is so scarce that the hunting aspect of this yearly event has become *pro forma*. After the hunt and its rituals, the various teams proceed in a march-dance parade through different villages as they make their way toward the final gathering place
[534] where performances will be held. Vigorous drum-beating marks
[535] the progress of their procession, and the characteristic Santal male strutting in dance is particularly pronounced. Any game
[192] that has been shot is borne aloft on pole stretchers. The entire event is known as *Sendra*.

[692] Several of my informants as well as the literature maintain that serious discussions of Santal customs and even settling of disputes that have escaped solution within the judicial units occur after the hunt. This was not the case at the one *Sendra* I attended. However this may be, the *Sendra* remains the largest and territorially the widest gathering of Santal, sometimes bringing together more than a thousand Santal living within a radius of about fifty miles.

• 596 Still to be considered are the intertwined components of the
592 extended and nuclear family. The term "extended family" is unfortunately one which has often been used very loosely; it

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

592 sometimes refers to three generations occupying a single house-
• 596 hold with joint control and merging of all income; sometimes income stipulations are disregarded; some speak of the extended family exclusively in terms of joint income, and some regard any three-generational family unit that occasionally gathers together or in which there is some financial cooperation as "extended." It is not always clear which criteria are being applied, and the different uses involve partially independent variables. To avoid possible ambiguity, each of these variables will be discussed separately with appropriate reference to their interconnections.

In the traditional farming situation, Santal living in the same house consist of a patrilineal group of kin plus wives, and income is typically part of a single fund managed officially by the eldest male, i.e., the father, or the eldest brother if the father is deceased. Income goes into the family coffers—whatever its source. However, a young married son living apart may not manage his own income; he might have recently married and had a house built for himself and his new wife while continuing to work his father's or his brother's land. Such arrangements may persist until there is an occasion for a division of the family land among the various members. Santal families tend to remain together as both a household and an economic unit until the death of the father. However, the marriage of a son is frequently sufficient to force a division of the land before the father's death. The Santal always attribute such divisions to the quarrelsome nature of women, as do many other patrilineal peoples. However this may be, the nuclear family begins to emerge as a unit in its own right immediately after marriage and to provide the lines of eventual fracture. In the village of Fanderkuta, less than 15 per cent of the 48 households (i.e.,

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

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596 seven) were extended in the sense of consisting of an undivided family of three generations with pooled income. There were also five households in which a mother had moved in with one of her divided married sons. The mere fact that the average life span of the Santal is relatively short and the fact that families generally fracture after the father's death are sufficient to account for the preponderance of the nuclear family.

592 Each economically undivided family has a part of the house set apart for the purpose of worship and sometimes also for the storing of rice and other valuables. A wall extending nearly
[192] across the house divides the largest room of the house in two; it is the smaller portion which is set apart, and it is known as
592 the "inner room" (*bhitar*; inside, as in Hindi). On almost all
769 festivals, offerings of rice beer are made here to the patrilineal
[192] ancestors, accompanied by prayers asking that the family be spared sickness (*handi boṅga* = rice beer worship). At this offering the head of the household usually presides, accompanied by one or more male relatives. Offerings may be brought by females of the household if they are not menstruating at the time, but females not of the household may never enter on the grounds that "one never knows their condition." "Rice beer worship," with its offerings to the ancestors, is obviously expressive of the bonds within the extended family, but *Maraṅ Buru*, the tribal deity, also receives his offering during ancestor worship, expressing the unity of the tribe.

556 Aside from the interconnected strands of kinship and territory, there is another socially relevant characteristic—wealth. As a social marker, like the inheritance of tribal offices, it provides social positions not attainable by all in the normal life
[581] process. Much will be said of its divisive effects later; it is appropriate to note here that it operates in establishing mar-

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

CHAPTER III

The Santal Social Organization

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Family: The family amongst the Santals should be of great interest considering that the Santals have been described as polyandrous. But besides the privileges of the younger brother over an elder brother's wife or the latitude allowed to the husband with the wife's younger sisters, there ought to have been traces of at least what has been called group-marriage. As the Santals could be taken as the representatives of a state of culture preceding the Dravidians in India and so be taken as a type of primitive patriliny, theoretically it should have shown the stages of family life which Morgan has described to be of pre-Aryan type. Linguistically, the Santals belong to what has been called the Austric group and thus would be the westernmost peripheral representatives of what is the Hawaiian type of family in the Pacific. In social structure also as well as in a sort of totemic organization the Santals recall several features of the Australian aboriginals. So an inquiry into the Santal family organization compared with the Hawaiian types or Australian systems or the polyandrous Nair or Tibetan types is necessary.

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Types of Family: Amongst the Santal generally two types of family can be seen :

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(1) The individual family consisting of father, mother, sons and daughters.

(2) The second consisting of grandfather, grandmother, sons, their wives, daughters (unmarried)

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596 and grandchildren, which is equivalent to the Hindu "Joint family". The Maori calls it "Whanau" (meaning extended family or family group) which corresponds to the German "Gross familie".

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[614] The family is broken up by marriage when the daughters by the law of exogamy go to another clan. Up to the time of their marriage the daughters are the property of their fathers or the nearest male relatives (if the father is dead), who take charge of them ; when married, they come under control of the family of their husbands (with these as their immediate lords and masters) and this they continue to be so long as there is any one who has a right over them. If such a state [734] ceases, they have no longer any locus standi ; they revert to their original relatives, if they are alive or become sort of guardianless minors, if none such exist they become utterly destitute except for what people may give them or what they may be able to earn through their work. It can be seen that the sons sometimese stablish their own home, when they have got their own family. But ordinarily the sons with their wives live with their father and mother.

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606 **Ghardi-Jawae** : There is a third type, in which the son-in-law is taken as a son in the father-in-law's family. If in a Santal family there is no son but only a daughter, they marry their daughter off and give the son-in-law the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law. If in a family there are grown-up daughters and minor sons, the son-in-law works for his father-in-law without wages for five years, He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural

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AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

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implements, and sets up a house for himself and his wife. This sort of son-in-law is called Ghardi-jawae.

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Family not Polyandrous: In the individual family the father is the *pater familias*, whereas in the other type the grandfather or any senior male member is head in every respect; other members, however senior they may be in age, must remain under his authority. In the Santal family all the brothers marry different wives (monogamous) which can be verified from the genealogical trees of the different Santal families. It is not like the normal Toda family which consists of a number of brothers—brothers with one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind and is handed on to the children of the brothers (Rivers' Toda, p. 559).

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There are no different terms of kinship for the father, father's brother, as also for mother and father's brother's wife which would not have happened, if there had been polyandry—

(Toda)	Father	... ...	In (aia).
„	Father's brother	...	„
„	Mother	...	Av (ava)
„	Father's brother's wife	...	„

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A consideration of terms of kinship of the Santals side by side with that of the Todas shows that the terminology of the Santals is cast in the same way as amongst the Todas. The terms for father and the father's brother are the same, the only difference being marked by the addition of descriptive words like Gongo (elder) or Hopen (younger); so also the terms for

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

428 house. If a man leaves only daughters (unmarried)
768 their paternal grandfather or uncles take charge of them and of the widow and the property remains in their possession. They give to these girls the presents which they get during their marriage as their own property, but the bride-price goes to guardians, headman, etc. After marriage the widow gets the perquisites of a childless widow and returns to her father's or to her daughter's house. In many cases it can be seen that one of the sons-in-law becomes gharda-jawae. He lives with his wife in the father-in-laws house and helps him in every possible way like a son till he dies, when the gharda-jawae inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property ; the other half goes to the relatives of the deceased.

If a man dies leaving a widow and several sons (minor), then the widow keeps all the property in her possession. The grandfather or uncles of the sons see that the widow does not waste it. If the widow
[587] remarries before her son's marriage the grandfather and
[429] uncles take possession of the property The mother of the sons has no right to any part of it. Sometimes it can be seen that the widow gets a calf which is known as *Bhandkar*. If the widow does not marry again, she lives with her sons, generally with the youngest son. The youngest son then claims the property of his mother after her death. No other can claim it.

• 596 **Partition**: Partition in a Santal family generally takes place when members become numerous in a family, and a single house cannot accommodate all

the members; or if the sons do not live happily together, specially when the father has married again and had other issue, the parents make a partition This partition takes place in the presence of the members of the Kulidrup (the council of the village people). A Kulidrup is called and the father divides all the land, cattle, and other things. The landed property is divided equally, the father and the sons get a share each. The house is also divided equally among the sons and father. If in a house there are four rooms then each will get one, provided all are married. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their lifetime. Unmarried sons get a double share of the live-stock, one share, for their marriage expenses. Daughters get no share in the property but if they are unmarried they get one calf each, that being the dowry to be given them at marriage, because during the marriage the bride's side has to give a calf to the brother of the bridegroom. The cattle which the sons get at their marriage are divided. But the cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers, brothers and from their fathers-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided. After the death of the wife of a Santal, her unmarried sons cannot claim a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage. If the second wife has no children when the father dies the sons by his first wife will get the share of the father provided they agree to pay for the funeral of their step-mother.

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